

\$120 a month, which goes, I think, to the issue of attempting, as we debate this bill, to establish some national norms so that people are not solving their economic problems when they are poor by moving from one State to another.

People, I think, have a misimpression of what welfare contributes to our overall budget. I hear people estimating that it may range close to 40 to 50 percent of what we spend at the Federal level. In fact, \$13.8 billion is total Federal spending for AFDC. That is less than 1 percent of the Federal budget, and, if you add in State spending, it only comes to \$25 billion, State and Federal, across the country, an average of \$156 for each American taxpayer.

There is also, I think, an assumption in our rhetoric that those people who are on AFDC are somehow all teenagers, and we are all concerned about young girls becoming pregnant and becoming welfare recipients, but in fact in 1993 only 1.2 percent of AFDC mothers were under 18 years of age. In fact only 7.6 percent were under 20. In fact many people are surprised to learn that 11.8 percent are over 40. There is no question that there are misimpressions about who it is that is on the welfare rolls.

I think it may be even more impressive though to realize that AFDC is not a safety net without holes. In fact the safety net is frayed. Of all poor children in our society, only 40 percent of them are on AFDC. In fact 60 percent of the poor children in this country benefit. Forty percent are still out there struggling to find basic sources of income to put a roof over their heads.

Why are people on welfare? Divorce or separation amounts to 45 percent of all the people who end up, chiefly women, on welfare, and you have heard the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WOOLSEY] talk about her 3-year experience on welfare as a result of her divorce. It is not an uncommon phenomenon. Only 30 percent of the people on welfare get there because, in fact, they were unmarried when they had a child. Twelve percent, as the gentlewoman from Ohio indicated in her comments, are on welfare simply because the earnings of the single mother fall, making them eligible, giving them the additional incentive of getting health care for their children.

But why do people leave the welfare rolls? Thirty-five percent through marriage, 21 percent because the mother earns more income and can afford to leave, 14 percent because of a rise in other benefits, chiefly food stamps, and 11 percent because children grow and leave the home and the mother is no longer eligible. Not enough leave the welfare rolls because of employment, because of the opportunity to work.

It is important, I think, to point out that child support is chiefly available to upper income women. Unmarried mothers above the poverty level who get child support from their fathers

amount to 43 percent. For poor women it is only 25 percent.

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REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AND REQUEST OF MEMBER ON SPECIAL ORDERS LIST

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would make a unanimous consent request that I be able to substitute for the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS] on this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CALVERT). The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] asks unanimous consent to go out of order.

Is there objection?

There is no objection.

CHANGES IN WELFARE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I think the ladies and gentlemen of this House have to realize if you want real change the Republican proposal provides the real change.

Able-bodied people who are on welfare want to be off welfare. In fact, under our proposal, they will have, through job counseling, job placement and job training, the opportunity to have real jobs that are meaningful to help their families.

More than that, our food and nutrition programs, despite what you may have heard from those who would not tell all the facts, realize that in the next five years 4.5 percent per year food and nutrition programs will be increased for our students across the United States.

What we are going to do is we are eliminating 15 percent of the administrative costs the Federal Government normally would expend. We are sending it to the States that can better administer the program, and we are capping their administrative costs at 5 percent.

That 10 percent that would have gone to wasteful bureaucratic expenditure is going to feed more children more often all across these United States in every single State. This is a compassionate and caring program that the Republican majority has presented.

In addition, we have a nationwide system for tracking the child enforcement. Under amendments we passed today that will, hopefully, will be adopted in the final bill, we will be able to make sure that we have more of the child support go to our children to make sure they are fed, to make sure they are clothed better than any other system we have had.

In the State of Maine, they have made sure that they have the collection of child support where you have a parent in one case or another not paying the child support by making sure that we have a system that says, "If you don't pay your child support, you

are going to lose your driver's license." That threat of loss of a driver's license has made sure that the Maine system has really been a model for the country.

Here we have a possibility to make meaningful change under the Republican proposals, a tax cut that is meaningful, a \$500 tax cut for families with children. We are going to have deficit reduction more than we have ever had, and we are going to have spending reductions.

We have had an out-of-control Congress up until this point, but this 104th Congress has the opportunity in a bipartisan manner for real change.

Beyond the line-item veto, beyond the balanced budget amendment and having the prohibition of unfunded mandates, we are going to have with welfare reform the first real opportunity to make sure we spend less on bureaucrats and we spend more on people.

This is a compassionate Republican proposal which I believe will have bipartisan support, as most of our Contract items have. I think if people read through the rhetoric and move away from the scare tactics, they will realize that the welfare reform, that the reform for America in this Contract With America is the best plan possible and one that is meaningful.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon [Ms. FURSE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Ms. FURSE addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mrs. LOWEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. DURBIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mrs. SCHROEDER addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. MILLER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KLINK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. KLINK addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Ms. SLAUGHTER addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Ms. JACKSON-LEE addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HILLIARD] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. HILLIARD addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Puerto Rico [Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. MANTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. MANTON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. CARDIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Utah [Mr. ORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. ORTON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. FIELDS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extension of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members having been called, no one is seeking additional time under the 5-minute rule.

CAUSES OF POVERTY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. SANDERS] is recognized for 35 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be joined tonight by several other Members who will be speaking in a moment.

Mr. Speaker, most of the discussion today dealt with the need for welfare reform, of which there is not a whole lot of disagreement, but I was rather shocked at how superficial in many ways the discussion about welfare reform today has been.

Illegitimate children and the problem of drug addiction and the very serious crime problem that we face as a Nation are not the causes of poverty and are not the causes of the need for welfare. Rather, to a large degree, it is the reverse, the opposite that is true.

In many respects, our country is becoming a poorer and poorer Nation. And not to talk about the causes of poverty, the loss of millions of good-paying manufacturing jobs, the decline in the wages that our working people are receiving, the growth of low-wage jobs, not to talk about that reality when we talk about welfare is absolutely absurd.

Mr. Speaker, between 1979 and 1992, the number of full-time workers earning wages under the poverty line increased from 12 to 18 percent. Eighteen percent of our workers now are earning poverty wages. Between 1990 and 1992, half of the women in the United States who found full-time jobs were earning the poverty wage.

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Sanders, would you be willing to engage in a debate on precisely this point?

Mr. SANDERS. I will tell you what. We have only 35 minutes, and we have got four of us here. I would really love to do that. And if we do agree to do it sometime later this week or next week, I really would love to do that.

But we have got four people. We do not have Rush Limbaugh and G. Gordon Liddy.

Mr. HOKE. You have got the Washington Post.

Mr. SANDERS. I think not. I think not. But I thank you. I would love to do it. I really would.

Mr. HOKE. Thank you.

Mr. SANDERS. In terms of welfare, not to understand that the \$4.25 minimum wage today is virtually a starvation wage which forces people into welfare is not to understand the reality of what is going on in America today. The minimum wage today is 20 percent lower in purchasing power than it was in 1970.

If we are serious, it seems to me, about welfare reform, then we must begin to talk about a real jobs program which rebuilds America. There is an enormous amount of work that could be done. We could take people off of welfare and put them to work rebuilding America, but we are not hearing that discussion from our Republican friends.

If we are serious about welfare reform, we must talk about raising the minimum wage to a living wage so people can escape from poverty and earn enough money to take care of their children.

If we are serious about welfare reform, we must improve our child care capabilities. What mother, what father can go out to work and leave his or her children abandoned in a house or an inadequate child care capabilities? That would be wrong.

If we are serious about welfare reform, we must educate our people and provide job training so they can, in fact, go out and earn the wages that they need and the dignity that they want.

The last point I want to make before I give the floor over to my good friend from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is to say that when we talk about welfare reform, which is a very important subject, we should also understand that welfare reform for the poor is only one part of the issue. We should also be talking about welfare reform for the rich and welfare reform for the large multinational corporations.

Studies done by conservative groups such as the CATO Institute, liberal groups like Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, moderate groups like the Democratic Leadership Council's Progressive Policy Institute have demonstrated that there are tens and tens and tens of billions of dollars in welfare that go to the rich and go to the big corporations. So if we are serious about welfare reform, I think it is appropriate we begin that debate as well.

I am now happy to introduce my good friend from Ohio, MARCY KAPTUR.

Ms. KAPTUR. I want to thank Congressman SANDERS for your refreshing point of view and as the only independent Member of the House of Representatives for the extra effort that you put into trying to look behind the curtain and see what is really going on in important programs like the welfare program which is so much in need of reform.